

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 05214 01 OF 02 041401Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----101685 041403Z /41
O 041346Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4768

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 05214

NODIS-

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE

FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY, AND THE PRESIDENT'S
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER FROM AMBASSADOR BREWSTER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: ERW

1. I AM SURE THAT THE DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO PRODUCE AND DEPLOY THE ERW IS ONE OF THE MOST ANGUISHING YOU HAVE HAD TO MAKE. ON THE ONE HAND, IT IS CRUCIAL THAT YOU NOT BE VIEWED AS WEAKENING THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST AND THE COHERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS MORALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO NUCLEAR ARMAMENT UNLESS ABSOLUTELY REQUIRED FOR NATIONAL SECURITY. I PRESUME TO SEND THIS MESSAGE ONLY BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT THE IMPACT OF A DECISION NOT TO PRODUCE, BOTH HERE AND IN THE ALLIANCE, IS EASY TO UNDERESTIMATE.

2. ON THE MERITS OF THE DECISION ITSELF I BELIEVE THAT EUROPEAN OPINION IS ABOUT EVENLY DIVIDED, WITH A CIVILIAN BIAS AGAINST DEPLOYMENT, AND A STRONG AND UNANIMOUS MILITARY OPINION IN FAVOR OF DEPLOYMENT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 05214 01 OF 02 041401Z

HOWEVER, THE IMPRESSION ALSO IS WIDESPREAD THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ASKED THE ALLIES TO SUPPORT DEPLOYMENT AND THAT THE LEADING ALLIED POWERS HAVE AGREED. MOREOVER, THE NATO SUPREME COMMANDER HAS PUBLICLY AFFIRMED THE URGENCY OF DEPLOYMENT. ALL OF THIS HAS OCCURRED, OF COURSE, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF BREZHNEV'S LETTERS TO NATO GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND A STEADY DRUMBEAT OF

SOVIET PROPAGANDA.

3. COMPLETE REVERSAL OF OUR APPARENT INTENTIONS NOW IS BOUND TO SHAKE ALLIED CONFIDENCE IN OUR CONSTANCY AND OUR MILITARY AND POLITICAL RESOLVE.

4. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE SOVIETS PRESUMABLY WILL SEE SUCH COMPLETE REVERSAL AS A BACK-DOWN IN FACE OF THEIR PRESSURE. THIS RUNS THE DOUBLE RISK OF FURTHER PROVOCATIONS BY THEM, AND OF THE CONSEQUENT POSSIBLE NEED FOR US TO SHOW OUR MUSCLE IN SOME OTHER WAY. BOTH TEMPTATIONS ADD TO THE GLOBAL RISK, AND THIS TOO WILL SHAKE THE CONFIDENCE OF OUR ALLIES.

5. PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT IN THE LONG RUN IS THE IMPACT OF COMPLETE REVERSAL ON DOMESTIC OPINION. I HAVE NO COMPETENCE ON DOMESTIC POLITICS. I CAN ONLY ASSUME THAT IT WOULD FAN THE FLAMES IN THE CAMPFIRES OF THE HAWKS WHO YEARN FOR RETURN TO THE COLD WAR. IT MIGHT SERIOUSLY PREJUDICE SALT, AND PERHAPS EVEN HURT PANAMA CANAL TREATY PROSPECTS. IT MIGHT ALSO SERIOUSLY DIMINISH PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN OUR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE RISKS WHICH RESOLUTE LEADERSHIP REQUIRES.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 05214 02 OF 02 041400Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----101676 041404Z /41

O 041346Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4769

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 05214

NODIS

6. I HAVE SAID "COMPLETE REVERSAL" THROUGHOUT THIS MESSAGE BECAUSE IT DOES NOT SEEM TO ME THAT A DECISION NOT RPT NOT TO DEPLOY HAS TO BE TIED TO THE DECISION NO RPT NOT TO PRODUCE. I BELIEVE THAT ALL THE INTERESTS INVOLVED COULD BE SERVED AND MOST OF THE DAMAGE TO OUR STANDING WITH OUR ALLIES, TO OUR TOUGHNESS IN THE EYES OF THE RUSSIANS, AND TO OUR OWN PUBLIC'S SENSE OF

SECURITY COULD BE AVOIDED IF YOU WERE (A) TO ANNOUNCE
A DECISION TO PRODUCE ERW AND (B) AT THE SAME TIME, TO
SAY THAT, EVEN IF THE ALLIES SO REQUESTED, YOU WOULD
BE UNWILLING TO AUTHORIZE DEPLOYMENT AS LONG AS YOU SAW
PROMISE IN ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS AFFECTING THE EUROPEAN
THEATER.

7. WHILE THE DECISION TO PRODUCE WOULD BE SEEN TO
STRENGTHEN OUR CAPACITY AGAINST AN EVIL DAY, THE DECISIO
NOT TO DEPLOY UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD
SYMBOLIZE OUR MORAL COMMITMENT TO ARMS LIMITATION AND
EVEN REDUCTION AS LONG AS HOPE IS JUSTIFIED.

8. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AS YOU KNOW WILL BACK YOU
WHATEVER YOU DECIDE. THIS IS A GREAT TRIBUTE TO THE
STRENGTH OF THE BOND WHICH YOU HAVE FORGED. IT IS ALSO
ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL, OF COURSE, THAT THEY KNOW IN
ADVANCE EXACTLY WHEN AND WHAT WE INTEND TO DO AND TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 05214 02 OF 02 041400Z

SAY ON ERW, BEARING IN MIND THAT, GIVEN PUBLIC INTEREST
IN ERW, THE PRIME MINISTER IS ALMOST BOUND TO BE ASKED
A QUESTION ON THE SUBJECT DURING THE PARLIAMENTARY
QUESTION PERIOD THIS COMING THURSDAY, APRIL 6. ONCE A
US DECISION IS ANNOUNCED, THE PRESSURES ON CALLAGHAN
WILL MOUNT, AS THEY WILL ON US, AND WE WILL NEED TO
GIVE HIM THE SUPPORT HE NEEDS IN ORDER TO CONTINUE TO
BE HELPFUL TO US.

BREWSTER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION, NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEPLOYMENT, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LONDON05214
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY, AND THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER FROM AMBASSADOR BREWSTER, DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840139-2318, N780004-0250
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780496/aaaaddep.tel
Line Count: 150
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b7b109b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3083629
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ERW
TAGS: PARM, MNUC, US
To: STATE SS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b7b109b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014